A REMONSTRANCE OF THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM.

ST ASAPH CATHEDRAL

Die Mercurii 15 *Decemb.* 1641.

It is this day Resolv'd upon the Question, By the House of

COMMONS,

That Order shall be now given for the Printing of this *Remonstrance*, of the State of the KINGDOM.

Newly corrected according to the Original Copy. With the Addition of the humble Remonstrance, and Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

H. Elsinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

LONDON,
Printed for *Ioseph Hunscutt*. 1641.

To the KINGS moſt Excellent MAIESTY.

The Humble REMONSTRANCE and Petition of the LORDS and Commons in Parliament.

Moſt gracious Soveraigne,

YOur *Maieſties* moſt humble and loyall Subjects the Lords and Commons in *Parliament*, do with all faithfulnes and zeal to your *Maieſties* Service, acknowledge your Royall favour and protection to be a great bleſſi gand ſecurity to them for the enjoying and preſerving of all thoſe publique and private Liberties and Priviledges which belong unto them; and whenſoever any of thoſe Liberties or Priviledges ſhall be invaded or broken, they hold themſelves bound with humility and confidence to reſort to your Princely Iuſtice for redreſſe and ſatisfaction. And becauſe the Rights and Priviledges of *Parliament* are the Birth-right and Inheritance not only of themſelves, but of the whole Kingdome, wherein every one of your Subjects is interreſted. The maintenance and preſervation whereof doth very highly conduce to the publique peace and proſperity of your *Maieſtie* and all your People; they conceive themſelves more eſpecially obliged with all humbleneſſe and care, yea, with all earneſtneſſe and conſtancy of reſolution, and endeavour to maintain and defend the ſame. Amongſt other the Priviledges of *Parliament*; They do with all dutifull reverence to your moſt excellent *Maieſty* declare that it is their ancient and undoubted Right; That your *Maieſty* ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation and debate in either Houſes of *Parliament*, but by their information and agreement; and that your *Maieſty* ought not to propound any Condition, Proviſion, or Limitation to any Bill or Act in debate or preparation in either Houſes of *Parliament*; or to manifeſt or declare your conſent or diſſent, approbation or diſſlike of the ſame before it be preſented to your *Maieſty* in due courſe of *Parliament*: and that every particular Member of either Houſe hath free liberty of ſpeech to propound, or debate any matter according to the order and courſe of *Parliament*: and that your *Maieſty* ought not to conceive diſpleaſure againſt any man for ſuch opinions and propoſitions as ſhall be delivered in ſuch debate, it belonging to the ſeverall Houſes of *Parliament* reſpectively to judge and determine ſuch errors and offences in words or actions as ſhall be committed by any their Members in the handling or debating any matters depending.

They do further declare that all the Priviledges above mentioned have been lately broken to the great ſorrow and grievance of your moſt humble and faithfull ſubjects in that Speech which your *Maieſty* made in *Parliament* to both Houſes upon *Tueſday* laſt the 14th of this preſent Moneth of *December*, in that your *Maieſty* did therein take notice of a Bill for impreſſing of Souldiers being in agitation in the ſaid Houſes, and not agreed upon: and that your *Maieſty* did therein offer a *Salvo iure*, or proviſionall Clauſe to be added to that Bill before it was preſented to your *Maieſty* by the conſent of both Houſes, and did at the ſame time declare your diſpleaſure againſt ſuch perſons as had moved ſome doubt or queſtion concerning the ſame Bill. All which they do affirm and declare to be againſt the ancient lawfull and undoubted Priviledges and Liberties of *Parliament*.

And therefore they moſt humbly beſeech your *Maieſty*, by your Royall Power and Authority, to maintain and protect them in theſe and all other the Priviledges of your high Court of *Parliament*, that you will not for the time to come break or interrupt the ſame. And that none of your loyall ſubjects may ſuffer or ſuſtain any prejudice in your *Maieſties* favour or good opinion for any thing done or ſpoken in *Parliament*. And for the reparation of your loyall ſubjects in this their juſt grievance and complaint, for the breaches of their Priviledges above mentioned, and prevention of the like, for the time to come. That your *Maieſty* will be pleaſed to declare and make known the name or names of the perſon or perſons, by whoſe miſ-information and evill councell your *Maieſty* was induced to the ſame, that ſo he or they may receive ſuch condigne puniſhment, as ſhall appertain to juſtice in that behalf. And this they moſt humbly deſire, and as your greateſt and moſt faithfull Councell ſhall adviſe your *Maieſty*, to perform, as that which will be not only a comfort to themſelves, but likewiſe a great advantage to your *Maieſty*, by procuring and confirming ſuch a confidence and unity betwixt your *Maieſty* and your People, as may be a foundation of Honour, ſafety and happineſſe to your

The Remonſtrance.

THe *Commons* in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, having with much earneſtneſſe, and faithfulneſſe of affection, and zeal to the publike good of this Kingdom, and His Majeſties honour and ſervice, for the ſpace of twelve months, wraſtled with the great dangers and fears, the preſſing miſeries and calamities, the various diſtempers and diſorders, which had not only aſſaulted; but even overwhelmed and extinguiſht the liberty, peace, and proſperity of this Kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all His Majeſties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakned and undermined the foundation, and ſtrength of his own Royall Throne; Do yet finde an abounding Malignity, and oppoſition in thoſe parties, and factions, who have been the cauſe of thoſe evils, and do ſtill labour to caſt aſperſions, upon that which hath been done, and to raiſe many difficulties for the hinderance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment Jealouſies, betwixt the King, and the Parliament; That ſo they may deprive him, and his people, of the fruit of his own Gracious Intentions, and their humble deſires of procuring the publike peace, ſafety, and happineſſe of this Realm. For the preventing of thoſe miſerable effects, which ſuch malicious endeavours may produce, We have thought good to declare,

1. *The Root, and the growth of theſe miſchievous deſignes.*

2. *The Maturity and Ripeneſſe, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*

3. *The effectuall means which have been uſed for the extirpations of thoſe dangerous evils, and the Progreſſe which hath therein been made by His Majeſties goodneſſe, and the Wiſedome of the Parliament.*

4. *The wayes of obstruction, and opposition, by which that Progresse hath been interrupted.*

5. *The courses to be taken for the removing those Obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutifull, and faithfull intentions, and endeavours, of restoring and establishing the Ancient Honour, Greatnesse, and Security of this Crown, and Nation. The Root of all this mischief, We finde to be a malignant, and pernicious designe, of subverting the Fundamentall Laws, and Principles of Government; upon which the Religion, and Justice of this Kingdom, are firmly establisht. The Actors and Promotors hereof have been,*

1. *The Jesuited Papists who hate the Laws, as the Obstacles of that change, and Subversion of Religion, which they so much long for.*

2. *The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergie, who cherish formality, and superstition, as the naturall effects, and more probable supports of their own Ecclesiasticall Tyranny, and Usurpation.*

3. *Such Councellors and Courtiers, as for private ends have engaged themselves, to further the interests of some forraign Princes, or States, to the prejudice of His Majesty, and the State at home.*

The common Principles, by which they moulded and governed all their particular Councells and Actions, were these.

First, To maintain continuall differences, and discontents betwixt the King, and the People, upon Questions of Prerogative, and liberty, that so they might have the advantage of sideing with him, and under the notions of men, addicted to his service, gain to them; selves, and their parties, the places of greatest trust and power in the Kingdom.

A Second, To suppresse the purity and power of Religion, and such as were best affected to it; as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that change, which they thought to introduce.

A Third, To conjoyn those parties of the Kingdom, which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations; to cherish the Arminian part in those points, wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the differences betwixt the common Protestants, and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance

nance ſuch opinions and Ceremonies, as are fitteſt for accommodation with Popery, to encreaſe and maintain ignorance, looſeneſſe, and prophaneneſſe in the people: That of thoſe three parties, Papiſts, Arminians, and Libertines, they might compoſe a body fit to act ſuch Counſels and reſolutions, as were moſt conducible to their own ends.

A Fourth, To diſaffect the King to Parliaments by ſlanders, and falſe imputations, and by putting him upon other wayes of ſupply, which in ſhew and appearance were fuller of advantage, then the ordinary courſe of Subſidies, though in truth they brought more loſſe then gain, both to the King and people, and have cauſed the great diſtractions, under which we both ſuffer.

As in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element; So in this mixt party, the Jeſuited Councels being moſt active, and prevailing, may eaſily be diſcovered to have had the greateſt ſway in all their determinations, and if they be not prevented, are likely to devour the reſt, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the begining of His Majeſties reign, the party begun to revive and flouriſh again, having been ſomewhat dampt by the breach with *Spain* in the laſt yeer of King *James*, and by His Majeſties marriage with *France*; the intereſts and Councels of that State, being not ſo contrary to the good of Religion, and the proſperity of this Kingdom, as thoſe of *Spain*; and the Papiſts of *England* having been ever more addicted to *Spain*, then *France*; yet they ſtill retained a purpoſe, and reſolution to weaken the Proteſtant parties in all parts, and even in *France*, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The firſt effect and evidence of their recovery and ſtrength was, the diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, after there had been given two Subſidies to His Majeſty; and before they received relief in any one Grievance, many other more miſerable effects followed.

The loſſe of the *Rochel* Fleet, by the help of our Shipping, ſet forth and delivered over to the *French*, in oppoſition to the advice of Parliament, which left that Town without defence by

[illegible] and made way not only to the loſſe of that important [illegible] but likewiſe to the loſſe of all the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of His Majeſties courſe of warres from the Weſt *Indies*, which was the moſt facile and hopefull way for this Kingdom to prevail againſt the Spaniard, to an expenſefull and ſucceſſleſſe attempt upon *Cales*, which was ſo ordered, as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of Warre, then to proſper in it.

The precipitate breach which *France* by taking their Ships to a great value, without making recompence to the *Engliſh*, whoſe goods were thereupon imbar'd, and confiſcate in that Kingdom.

The peace with *Spain* without conſent of Parliament, contrary to the promiſe of King *James* to both Houſes; whereby the *Palatine* Cauſe was diſerted, and left to chargeable and hopeleſſe Treaties, which, for the moſt part, were managed by thoſe, who might juſtly be ſuſpected to be no friends to that Cauſe.

The charging of the Kingdom with Billetted Souldiers in all parts of it, and that Concomitant deſigne of *Germane* horſe, that the Land might either ſubmit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to ſuch Arbitrary Contributions, as ſhould be required of them.

The diſſolving of the Parliament in the ſecond yeer of His Majeſties raign, after a Declaration of their intent, to grant five Subſidies.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subſidies after the Parliament diſſolved, by Commiſſion of Loan; and divers Gentlemen and others impriſoned for not yeilding to pay that Loan, whereby many of them contracted ſuch ſickneſſes, as coſt them their lives. Great ſummes of Money required, and raiſed by Privy Seals. An unjuſt and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject, by way of Exciſe; and a Commiſſion iſſued under Seal to that purpoſe. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blaſted with an illegall Declaration, to make it deſtructive to it ſelf, to the power of Parliaments, to the liberty of the Subject, and to that purpoſe printed with it; and the Petition made of no uſe, but to ſhew the bold

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and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst break the Laws, and suppresse the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, 4 *Car.* the priviledge of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of using Books, Pen, Inke, or Paper, denying them all the comforts of life, all meanes of preservation of health, not permitting their wives to come unto them, even in time of their sickneſſe. And for the compleating of that cruelty, after yeers spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary meane of Spirituall consolation, not suffering them to go abroad to enjoy Gods Ordinances, in Gods House, or Gods Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private Chambers: and to keep them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be bayled according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferiour Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament and extorting the payments of those Fines from them, enforcing others to put in security of good behaviour, before they could be released.

The imprisonment of the rest which refused to be bound, still continued; which might have been perpetuall, if necessity had not, the last yeer, brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom, one died, by the cruelty and harshneſſe of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life, did sufficiently appear by the declaration of his Physitian: And his release, or at least, his refreshment, was sought by many humble Petitions. And his bloud still cries either for vengeance, or repentance of those Ministers of State, who are at once obstructed the course, both of his Majesties Justice and Mercy.

Upon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous declarations published, to asperse their proceedings, and some of their Members, unjustly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the harts of the people, forbidding them, even to speak of Parliaments.

After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth yeer of His Majeſty, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and Violence, broke in upon us, without any reſtraint or moderation; and yet the firſt project, was the great ſummes exacted thorow the whole Kingdom, for default of Knight-hood, which ſeemed to have ſome colour and ſhadow of a Law; yet if it be rightly examined by that obſolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be againſt all the rules of Juſtice, both in reſpect of the perſons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the abſurd and unreaſonable manner of their proceedings. Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of Law: many other heavy impoſitions continued againſt Law; and ſome ſo unreaſonable, that the ſumme of the charge, exceeds the value of the Goods. The Book of Rates lately inhanſed to a high proportion; and ſuch Merchants as would not ſubmit to their illegall and reaſonable payments, were vexed and oppreſſed above meaſure; and the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obſtructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard of Tax of Ship-money was deviſed, upon the ſame pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the Subject neer 700000l ſome yeers; and yet the Merchants have been left ſo naked to the violence of the Turkiſh Pyrats, that many great Ships of value, and thouſands of His Maieſties Subiects have been taken by them, and do ſtill remain in miſerable ſlavery.

The enlargement of Forreſts, contrary to *Charta de Foreſta*, and the compoſition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct money, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Arms of the Trained Bands of divers Counties. The deſperate deſign of engroſſing all the Gun-powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and ſetting ſo high a Rate upon it, that the poorer ſort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licenſe; thereby to leave the ſeveral parts of the Kingdom deſtitute of their neceſſary defence; and by ſelling ſo dear that which was ſold, to make an unlawfull advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subiect, the generall deſtruction of the Kings Timber, eſpecially that in the Forreſt of *Dean*, ſold to Papiſts, which was the beſt Store-houſe

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of this Kingdom, for the maintenance of our Shipping. The taking away of mens right, under colour of the Kings title to Land between high and low water-Marks. The Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Cole, and, in a manner, of all things of moſt common and neceſſary uſe. The reſtraint of the Liberties of the Subiects in their habitation, Trades, and other Intereſt. Their vexation and oppreſſion by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peeter-men. The ſale of pretended Nuzances, as Buildings in and about *London*, converſion of Arable into Paſture, continuance of Paſture, under the name of depopulation, have drawn many Millions out of the Subiects Purſes, without any conſiderable profit to his Maieſty. Large quantities of Common, and ſeverall Grounds, have been taken from the Subiect, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuſe of the Commiſſion of Sewers, without their conſent, and againſt it. And not only private Intereſt, but alſo publike faith have been broken, in ſeizing of the money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom like to be robb'd at once, in that abominable project of Braſſe Money. Great numbers of his Maieſties Subiects, for refuſing thoſe unlawfull charges, have been vext with long and expenſive ſuits; ſome fined and cenſured, others committed to long and hard impriſonments and confinements, to the loſſe of health of many, of life in ſome; and others have had their houſes broken up, their goods ſeized, ſome have been reſtrained from their lawfull Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, ſurprized at Sea in an Hoſtile manner, by Proiectors, as by a common Enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in ſuch Ports, as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to thoſe places which were moſt for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Proiectors. The Court of Starchamber hath abounded in extravagant cenſures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawfull taxes; but for divers other Cauſes, where there hath been no offence, or very ſmall; wherby his Maies Subiects have been oppreſſed by grievous Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Baniſhments, after ſo rigid a maner, as hath not only deprived men of the ſociety of their friends, exerciſe of their profeſſiõs, comfort of Books, uſe of Paper or Inke, but even violated that neer Union which God

hath eſtabliſhed betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and conſtrained ſeparation; whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and converſation one of another, for many yeers together, without hope of relief; if God had not by his over-ruling Providence, given ſome interruption to the prevailing power, and Counſell of thoſe, who were the Authors and Promoters of ſuch peremptory and headdy courſes.

Judges have been put out of their places, for refuſing to do againſt their Oaths, and Conſciences: Others have been ſo awed, that they durſt not do their duties, and the better to hold a rod over them, the Clauſe *quam diu ſe bene geſſerit* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clauſe *Durante bene placito* inſerted. Lawyers have been checkt, for being faithfull to their Clients; Solicitors and Attorneyes have been threatned, and ſome puniſhed for following lawfull Suites: And by this means all the approaches to Juſtice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oaths have been forced upon the Subject againſt Law; new Judicatories erected without Law: The Councell Table have, by their Orders, offered to binde the Subjects in their free-holds Eſtates, Suites, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earl *Marſhal* was Arbitrary, and Illegall in its being, and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other Engliſh Courts have been grievous in exceeding their Juriſdiction. The eſtate of many Families weakned; and ſome ruined by exceſſive Fines, exacted from them for Compoſitions of Wardſhips. All Leaſes of above a hundred yeers, made to draw on Wardſhip contrary to Law. Undue proceedings uſed in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury finde for the King. The Common-Law Courts, ſeeing all Men more inclined to ſeek Juſtice there, where it may be fitted to their own deſire, are known frequently to forſake the Rules of the Common-Law, and ſtraining beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity to do Injuſtice. Titles of Honour, Judiciall places, Serjeantſhips at Law, and other Offices have been ſold for great ſummes of money; whereby the common Juſtice of the Kingdom hath been much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment in places of great Truſt, and advantage to Men of weak parts; but alſo by giving occaſion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality;

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It seldome hapning that places ill-gotten are well used. Commissions have been granted for examining the excesse of Fees: and when great exactions have been discovered, Compositions have been made with Delinqents, not only for the time past, but likewise for immunity and security in offending, for the time to come; which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed, and encreased the Grievance to the Subject. The usuall course of pricking Sheriffs not observed, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way; sometimes as a punishment and charge unto them; sometimes such were pricked out, as would be Instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers paintull, Learned, and pious Ministers, in the vexation, and grievous oppression of great numbers of His Majesties good Subjects. The High-Commission grew to such excesse of sharpnesse and severity, as was not much lesse then the Romish Inquisition; and yet in many cases by the Archbishops power, was made much more heavy, being assisted, and strengthned by authority of the Councell-Table.

The Bishops, and their Courts, were as eager in the Country; and although their Jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigor, and extremity of punishment, yet were they no lesse grievous, in respect of the generality, and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner sort of Tradesmen, and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the Kingdom, some into *New-England*, and other parts of *America*; others into *Holland*, where they have transported their Manufactures of Cloath, which is not only a losse by diminishing the present stock of the Kingdom, but a great mischief by impairing and endangering the losse of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing, which hath been a plentifull Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Those were fittest for Ecclesiasticall preferment, and soonest obtained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most virulent in railing against Godlinesse, and honesty.

The most publike and solemn Sermons before His Majestie were, either to advance Prerogative above Law, and Decry the property of the Subject, or full of such kinde of invectives;

whereby

they might make those odious, who sought to maintain the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other imployments of power in the Government of the Countrey. Many noble Personages were Councellors in name; but the power and authority remained in a few of such, as were most addicted to this partie; whose resolutions, and determinations were brought to the Table, for countenance, and execution, and not for debate, and deliberation; and no Man could offer to oppose them without disgrace, and hazard to himself: Nay, all those that did not wholly concurre and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designes, though otherwise, persons of never so great Honour, and Abilities, were so farre from being employed in any place of Trust, and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed. This Faction was grown to that height, and entireneſſe of power, that now they began to think of finishing their Work, which consisted of these three parts.

1. *The Government must be set free from all restraint of Laws, concerning our Persons and States.*

2. *There must be a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Popery.*

3. *The Puritans under which name, they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the power of it; must be either rooted out of the Kingdom with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting of this, It was thought necessary to reduce* Scotland *to such Popish superstitions, and Innovations, as might make them apt to joyn with* England, *in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgy were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an Army was raised to force them to it, towards which the Clergy, and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The Scots likewise raised an Army for their defence; and when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloudy encounter, His Majesties own Gracious disposition, and the Councell of the English Nobility, and Dutifull submission of the Scots, did so farre prevail against the evill Councell of others, that a Pacification was made, and His Majesty returned with Peace, and much honour to* London.

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The unexpected reconciliation was moſt acceptable to all the Kingdome, except to the malignant partie, whereof the Archbiſhop and the Earle of Stafford being heads, they and their faction begun to enveigh againſt the Peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States, which ſo incenſed his Majeſtie, that he forthwith prepared againe for Warre. And ſuch was their confidence, that having corrupted and diſtempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdome, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the onely means to reſtore all to a right frame and temper againe: to which end they perſwaded His Majeſtie to call a Parliament, not to ſeeke counſell and advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdome in their Quarrell: and in the meane time, continued all their unjuſt Levies of Money, reſolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to eſtabliſh miſchiefe by a Law, or elſe to breake it; and with more colour to goe on by violence, to take what they could not obtain by conſent. The ground alledged for the juſtification of this Warre was this:

That the undutifull Demands of the Parliaments of *Scotland*, was a ſufficient reaſon for His Majeſtie to take Armes againſt them, without hearing the Reaſon of thoſe Demands; And thereupon a new Armie was prepared againſt them, their Ships were ſeized in all Ports, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea. Their Petitions rejected; their Commiſſioners refuſed Audience. This whole Kingdome moſt miſerably diſtempered with Levies of Men and Money, and Impriſonments of thoſe who denied to ſubmit to thoſe Levies. The Earle of *Strafford* paſt into *Ireland*, cauſed the Parliament there to declare againſt the *Scots*, to give foure Subſidies towards that Warre; and ſo ingage themſelves, their lives and fortunes for the proſecution of it, and gave directions for an Army of eight thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, to be levied there, which were for the moſt part Papiſts. The Parliament met upon the thirteenth of *Aprill*, one thouſand ſix hundred and fortie. The Earle of *Strafford*, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with

their Party ſo prevailed with His Majeſty, that the *Houſe of Commons* was preſt to yeeld to a Supply for maintenance of the Warre with *Scotland*, before they had provided any relieſe for the great and preſſing Grievances of the people, which being againſt the fundamentall Priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble reſpect to his Majeſtie, ſo farre admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into conſideration, & two ſeverall dayes it was debated. Twelve Subſidies were demanded for the releaſe of Ship-money alone; A third day was appointed for Concluſion, when the Heads of that Partie begun to feare the people might cloſe with the King in ſatisfying his deſire of Money: But that withall they were like to blaſt their malicious deſignes againſt *Scotland*, finding them very much indiſpoſed to give any countenance to that Warre.

Thereupon they wickedly adviſed the King to break off the Parliament, and to returne to the wayes of Confuſion, in which their own evill intentions were moſt like to proſper and ſucceed.

After the Parliament ended the fifth of *May*, one thouſand ſix hundred and fortie, this Partie grew ſo bold, as to counſell the King to Supply Himſelfe out of His Subjects ſtates by his own Power, at his own Will, without their conſent. The very next day, ſome *Members of both Houſes* had their Studies and Cabinets, yea their Pockets ſearched: Another of them not long after was committed cloſe priſoner, for not delivering ſome Petitions which he received by authority of that *Houſe*, and if harſher courſes were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the ſickneſſe of the Earle of *Strafford*, and the Tumultuous riſing in *Southwarke*, and about *Lambeth*, were the cauſes that ſuch violent intentions were not brought to execution. A falſe and ſcandalous Declaration againſt the *Houſe of Commons*, was publiſhed in his Majeſties Name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifeſt the impudence of thoſe who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of Money was attempted in the Citie of *London*.

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The Lord Major and Aldermen in their ſeverall Wards enjoyned to bring in a liſt of the Names of ſuch perſons as they judged fit to lend, and of the ſumme they ſhould lend And ſuch Aldermen as refuſed ſo to doe, were committed to priſon.

The *Archbiſhop* and the other *Biſhops* and *Clergie* continued the *Convocation*, and by a new Commiſſion turned it to a *Provinciall Synod*, in which by an unheard-of preſumption, they made *Canons* that containe in them many matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, to the right of *Parliaments*, to the Propertie and Libertie of the Subject, and matters tending to ſedition, and of dangerous conſequence, thereby eſtabliſhing their own Uſurpations, juſtifying their Altar-worſhip, and thoſe other ſuperſtitious Innovatiõs, which they formerly introduced without warrant of Law.

They impoſed a new Oath upon divers of his Majeſties Subjects, both *Eccleſiaſticall* and *Lay*, for maintenance of their own Tyranny; and laid a great Tax upon the Clergie for Supply of his Majeſtie; and generally they ſhewed themſelves very affectionate to the Warre with *Scotland*, which was by ſome of them ſtiled *Bellum Epiſcopale*; and a Prayer compoſed, and enjoyned to be read in all Churches, calling the *Scots*, *Rebels*, to put the two Nations into bloud, and make them irreconcileable. All thoſe pretended *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* were armed with the ſeverall Cenſures of *Suſpenſion*, *Excommunication*, *Deprivation*, by which they would have thruſt out all the good Miniſters, and moſt of the well affected people of the Kingdome, and left an eaſie paſſage to their own Deſigne of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The *Popiſh* party enjoyned ſuch Exemptions from the *Penall Lawes*, as amounted to a Tolleration, beſides many other encouragements, and Court favours: They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windibank*, a powerful Agent for the ſpeeding of all their deſires, a *Popes Nuntio* reſiding here to act and governe them according to ſuch influences as he received from *Rome*, and to intercede

for them with the moſt powerfull concurrence of the forraigne Princes of that Religion: By his authoritie the *Papiſts* of all ſorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergie were convocated, after the manner of a *Parliament*; new Juriſdictions were erected of *Romiſh Archbiſhops*, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State independant in Government, contrary in intereſt and affection, ſecretly corrupting the ignorant, or negligent profeſſors of our Religion, and cloſely uniting and combining themſelves againſt ſuch as were ſound, in this poſture waiting for an opportunitie by force to deſtroy thoſe whom they could not hope to ſeduce. For the effecting whereof, they were ſtrengthened with Armes and Munition, encouraged by ſuperſtitious Prayers, enjoyned by the *Nuntio* to be weekly made for the proſperitie of ſome great deſigne. And ſuch power had they at Court, that ſecretly a Commiſſion was iſſued out, intended to be iſſued to ſome great Men of that profeſſion for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Inſtructions, which wee doubt were framed for the advantage of thoſe who were the contrivers of them: His Majeſties Treaſure was conſumed, his Revenue anticipated, His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great ſummes of Money; Multitudes were called to the *Councell Table*, who were tired with long attendances there, for refuſing illegall payments. The *Priſons* were filled with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffes ſummoned into the *Starre Chamber*, and ſome impriſoned for not being quicke enough in levying the Ship-money, the people languiſhed under griefe, and feare, no viſible hope being left, but in deſperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their ſilence, and patience, and ſenſible of the dutie and truſt which belongs to them: and thereupon ſome of the moſt eminent of them did petition his Majeſty at ſuch a time when evill Councels were ſo ſtrong, that they had reaſon to expect more hazard to themſelves, then redreſſe of thoſe publike evils for which they interceded, whileſt the Kingdome was in this agitation and diſtemper, the *Scots* reſtrained in their trades, impoveriſhed by the loſſe of many of their Ships, bereaved of all poſſibilitie of ſatisfying His

Majeſtie

Majeſtie by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerfull Army into the Kingdome, and without any hoſtile Act or ſpoil in the Countrey as they paſſed, more then forcing a paſſage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne*, neer *Newcaſtle*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Newcaſtle*, and had a fair opportunitie to preſſe on further upon the Kings Armie: but dutie and Reverence to His Majeſtie, and brotherly love to the *Engliſh* Nation, made them ſtay there, whereby the King had leaſure to entertain better Councels; wherein God ſo bleſſed and directed him, that he ſummoned the great Councell of Peers to meet at *Yorke*, upon the twentie fourth of September, and there declared a *Parliament* to begin the third of November then following. The *Scots* the firſt day of the great Councell, preſented an humble Petition to His Majeſtie, whereupon the Treatie was appointed at *Rippon*. A preſent Ceſſation of Armes agreed upon: and the full Concluſion of all differences referred to the wiſedome and care of the *Parliament*. At our firſt meeting, all Oppoſitions ſeemed to vaniſh, the miſchiefes were ſo evident, which thoſe evill Councellors produced, that no Man durſt ſtand up to defend them. Yet the work it ſelf afforded difficultie enough. The multiplied evils and corruption of ſixteen yeers ſtrengthened by cuſtome and authoritie, and the concurrent intereſt of many powerfull delinquents were now to be brought to judgement and Reformation. The Kings Houſhold was to be provided for, they had brought him to that want, that he could not ſupply his ordinarie, and neceſſarie expences, without the aſſiſtance of his people. Two Armies were to be payed, which amounted very neer to 80. thouſand pounds a moneth; the people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhauſted with many burthenſome Projects. The difficulties ſeemed to be inſuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great meaſure we have reconciled. Six Subſidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which if it be duely levied, may equall ſix Subſidies more in all, ſix hundred thouſand pounds. Beſides we have

contracted a Debt to the *Scots* of 220. thouſand pounds; and yet God hath ſo bleſſed the endeavours of this *Parliament*, that the Kingdome is a great gainer by all theſe charges. The Ship-money is aboliſhed, which coſt the kingdome above 200. thouſand pounds a yeer. The Coat and Conduct money, and other militarie charges, are taken away, which in many Countreys amounted to little leſſe then the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all ſuppreſt, whereof ſome few did preiudice the Subiect, above a Million yeerly. The Soap an hundred thouſand pounds; the Wine three hundred thouſand pounds; the Leather muſt needs exceed both: and Salt could be no leſſe then that; beſides the inferiour Monopolies, which if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great ſumme. That which is more beneficiall then all this is, that the root of theſe evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary power pretended to be in his Maieſtie, of taxing the Subiect, or charging their eſtates without conſent in *Parliament*, which is now declared to be againſt Law, by the iudgement of both *Houſes*, and likewiſe by an Act of *Parliament*. Another ſtep of great advantage is this: the living Grievances, the evill Councellors and Actors of theſe miſchiefs have been ſo quelled, by the iuſtice done upon the Earl of *Straſford*, the flight of the Lord *Finch*, and Secretary *Windibank*. The accuſation and impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of Judge *Bartlet*, and the impeachment of divers other Biſhops and Judges, that it is like not onely to be an eaſe to the preſent times, but a preſervation to the future. The diſcontinuance of *Parliaments* is prevented by the Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*, and the abrupt diſſolution of this *Parliament* by another Bill; by which it is provided, it ſhall not be diſſolved or adiourned without the conſent of both *Houſes*. Which two Laws well conſidered, may be thought more advantagious then all the former, becauſe they ſecure a full operation of the preſent remedie, and afford a perpetuall Spring of remedies for the future: The Star-Chamber, the High Commiſſion, the Courts of the Preſident, and Councell in the North, were ſo many forges

forges of miſerie, oppreſſion, and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more ſecured in their perſons, liberties, and eſtates, then they could be by any Law or Example for the regulation of thoſe Courts, or Terror of the Judges; The immoderate power of the *Councell Table*, and the exceſſive abuſe of that power is ſo ordered and reſtrained, that we may well hope that no ſuch things as were frequently done by them, to the preiudice of the publique liberty, will appear in future times but onely in Stories, to give us and our poſteritie more occaſion to praiſe God for his Maieſties goodneſſe, and the faithfull endeavours of this *Parliament*. The *Canons*, and the power of *Canon* making, are blaſted by the Vote of both *Houſes*. The exorbitant power of *Biſhops*, and their Courts, are much abated, by ſome Proviſions in the Bill againſt the *High Commiſſion Court*. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and ceremonies; The Miniſters that have been ſcandalous in their lives, have been ſo terrified in iuſt complaints and accuſations, that we may well hope they will be more modeſt for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the ſight of their own folly, or outwardly reſtrained by the fear of puniſhment. The *Forreſts* are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds; the encroachments and oppreſſions of the *Stannarie Courts*; The Extortions of the *Clerk* of the Market, and the compulſion of the Subiect to receive the Order of Knight-hood againſt his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of thoſe Fines, are by other beneficiall Laws reformed and prevented. Many excellent Laws and proviſions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and uſurpation of *Biſhops*, for reforming the pride and Idleneſſe of many of the *Clergie*, for eaſing the people of unneceſſarie ceremonies in Religion, for cenſuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Miniſters; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdome: Other things of many importance for the good of this Kingdome, are in propoſition, though little could hitherto be done, in regard of

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the many other more preſſing buſineſſes, which yet before the end of this Seſſion, we hope may receive ſome progreſſe and perfection. The eſtabliſhing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that ſo the abuſe of Officers, and ſuperfluitie of expences may be cut off, and the neceſſarie disburſments for his Maieſties Honour, the defence and government of the Kingdome, may be more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Juſtice, and abridging both the delayes and charges of Law Suits; The ſetling of ſome good courſes for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increaſe of our Manufactures, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdome may be increaſed, or at leaſt kept from impairing, as through neglect hereof it hath done for many yeers laſt paſt; For improving the Herring fiſhing, upon upon our own Coaſts, which will be of mightie uſe in the imployment of the poore, and a plentifull Nurſerie of Mariners for inabling the Kingdome in any great Action. The oppoſitions, obſtructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have been encountred, and which ſtill lie in our way with ſome ſtrength and much obſtinacie are theſe: The malignant Partie whom we have formerly deſcribed, to be the Actors and promoters of all our miſerie, they have taken heart again; They have been able to preferre ſome of their own Factors and Agents to degrees of honour, to places of truſt and imployment even during the *Parliament*. They have endeavoured to work in his Majeſtie ill impreſſions and opinions of Our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not His, and had obtained from him many things very prejudiciall to the Crown, both in reſpect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this ſlander, We think good onely to ſay thus much: That all that We have done, is for His Maieſtie, His greatneſſe, Honour, and ſupport, when We yeeld to give twenty five thouſand pound a moneth for the relief of the Northern Countreys,

this

this was given to the King, for he was bound to protect his ſubjects, they were his Majeſties evill Counſellors, and their ill inſtruments that were actors in thoſe grievances which brought in the Scots: and if his Majeſty pleaſe to force thoſe who were the authors of this warre to make ſatisfaction, as he might juſtly and eaſily doe, it ſeemes very reaſonable that the people might well be excuſed from taking upon them this burden, being altogether innocent, and free from being any cauſes of it.

When we undertooke the charge of the army, which coſt above 50000. pound a moneth, was not this given to the King? was it not his Majeſties army? were not all the Commanders under contract with his Majeſty at higher rates and greater wages then ordinary? and have not we taken upon us to diſcharge all the brotherly aſſiſtance of three hundred thouſand pounds which we gave the Scots? was it not toward repaire of thoſe dammages and loſſes which they received from the Kings ſhips, and from his miniſters? Theſe three particulars amount to above 1100. thouſand pound, beſides his Majeſty hath received by impoſitions upon merchandiſe at leaſt 400. thouſand pounds; ſo that his Majeſty hath had out of the ſubjects purſe ſince the Parliament began, one million and halfe, and yet theſe men can be ſo impudent, as to tell his Majeſty, that we have done nothing for him. As to the ſecond branch of this ſlander, we acknowledge with much thankfulneſſe that his Majeſty hath paſſed more good Bills to the advantage of the ſubjects then have beene in many ages; but withall wee cannot forget, that theſe venomous counſels did manifeſt themſelves in ſome endeavours to hinder theſe good Acts: and for both Houſes of Parliament wee may with truth and modeſty ſay thus much, That we have ever beene carefull not to deſire any thing that ſhould weaken the Crowne either in juſt profit or uſefull power. The triennial Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to ſo much as by Law we ought to have required, there being two Statutes ſtill in force for a Parliament to be once a yeere; and for the manner of it, it is in the Kings power, that it ſhall never take effect, if he by a timely ſummons

ſhall prevent any other way of aſſembling. In the Bill for continuance of this preſent Parliament, there ſeemes to be ſome reſtraint of the royall power in diſſolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the crowne, but to ſuſpend the execution of it for this time and occaſion onely, which was ſo neceſſary for the Kings owne ſecurity, and the publique peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of theſe great charges, but muſt have left both the armies to diſorder and confuſion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and rapin. The Starre-chamber was much more fruitfull in oppreſſion then in profit, the great fines being for the moſt part given away, and the reſt ſtalled at long times. The fines of the high Commiſſion were in themſelves unjuſt and ſeldome or never came into the Kings purſe. Theſe foure Bils are particularly and more ſpecially inſtanced, in the reſt there will not be found ſo much as a ſhadow of prejudice to the Crowne. They have ſought to diminiſh our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aſperſions which they have attempted this way, have been ſuch as theſe, That we have ſpent much time and done little, eſpecially in thoſe grievances which concerne Religion. That the Parliament is a burden to the Kingdome by the abundance of Protections which hinder Juſtice and Trade, and by many Subſidies granted, much more heavy then any they formerly endured; to which there is a ready anſwer: if the time ſpent in this Parliament be conſidered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of thoſe grievances, which we have removed, to the powerfull upports of thoſe delinquents which we have purſued, to the great neceſſities and other charges of the Common wealth for which we have provided: or if it be conſidered in relation forward to many advantages, which not onely the preſent, but future ages are like to reap by the good lawes and other proceedings in this Parliament, we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgements that our time hath been much better imployed then in a farre greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have beene laid upon the Subject, and the other incon-

inconveniences which they have borne will ſeem very light in reſpect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of protections, the Parliament is ſo ſenſible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatſoever eaſe may ſtand with Honour and Juſtice; and are in a way of paſſing a Bill to give them ſatisfaction. They have ſought by many ſubtile practices, to cauſe jealouſies and diviſions betwixt us and our brethren of Scotland, by ſlandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by ſecret endeavours to inſtigate and incenſe them and us one againſt another. They have had ſuch a party of Biſhops & popiſh Lords in the houſe of Peeres, as hath cauſed much oppoſition and delay in the proſecution of delinquents, hindred the proceedings of divers good Bils paſſed in the Cō.nons houſe, concerning the reformation of ſundry great abuſes and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to ſeduce and corrupt ſome of the Commons Houſe, to draw them into conſpiracies and combinations againſt the liberty of the Parliament: And by their inſtruments and agents they have attempted to diſaffect and diſcontent his Majeſties Army, & to ingage it for the maintenance of their wicked and trayterous deſignes, the keeping up of Biſhops in votes and functions, and by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit, and diſpoſe their proceedings in ſuch manner as might beſt concur with the intentions of this dangerons and potent faction: And when one miſchievous deſigne, and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army againſt the Parliament, and the City of London had been diſcovered and prevented, they preſently undertooke another of the ſame damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scotiſh Army neutrall, whilſt the Engliſh Army which they had laboured to corrupt and invenome againſt us by their falſe and ſlanderous ſuggeſtions ſhould execute their malice to the ſubverſion of our religion and the diſſolution of our government. Thus they have beene continually practizing to diſturbe the peace, and plotting the deſtruction even of all the Kings dominions, and have employed their emiſſaries and agents in them all for the promoting of their divelliſh deſignes which the vigilancy of

those who were well affected hath still discovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in England and Scotland; onely in Ireland which was farther off, they have had time and oppertunity to mould and prepare their worke, and had brought it to that perfection that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdome, totally subverted the government of it, rooted out religion, and destroyed all the protestants whom the conscience of their duety to God, their King and Countrey would not have permitted to joyne with them, if by Gods wonderfull providence their maine enterprise upon the City and Castell of Dublin had not beene detected and prevented upon the very eave before it should have been executed. Notwithstanding they have in other parts of that Kingdome broken out into open rebellion, surprising Townes and Castels, committed murders, rapes, and other villanies; and shaken off all bonds of obedience to his Majesty, and the lawes of the Realme; and in generall have kindled such a fire, as nothing but Gods infinite blessing upon the wisedome and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: and certainly had not God in his great mercy unto this Land discovered and confounded their former designes, wee had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in Ireland, and had by this time beene made the lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the only means of our subsistance, and power of reformation is under him, in the Parliament; but what can we the Commons without the conjunction of the House of Lords, and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to crosse and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation, and by that meanes give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings. They infuse into the people, that we meane to abolish all Church government, and leave every man to his owne fancy for the service and worship of God: absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty whom we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiasticall law as well as with the temporall to regulate all the members of the

the Church of England by ſuch rules of order and diſcipline as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament which is his great Councell, in all affaires both in Church and State. We confeſſe our intention is, and our endeavours have been to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have aſſumed unto themſelves ſo contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Lawes of the Land, to which end we paſt the Bill for the removing them from their temporall power and employments, that ſo the better they might with meekneſſe apply themſelves to the diſcharge of their functions, which Bill themſelves oppoſed, and were the principall inſtruments of croſsing it.

And we doe here declare, that it is farre from our purpoſe or deſire to let looſe the golden reynes of diſcipline, and government in the Church, to leave private perſons or particular congregations to take up what forme of divine Service they pleaſe; for we hold it requiſite that their ſhould be throughout the whole realme a conformity to that order which the Laws enioyne, according to the Word of God: and we deſire to unburthen the conſciences of men of needleſſe and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, ſuppreſſe innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended reformation, we deſire there may be a generall Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned and judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from forraine parts profeſſing the ſame religion with us, who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the peace and good government of the Church, and repreſent the reſults of their conſultations unto the Parliament to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the ſtamp of authority thereby to finde paſſage and obedience throughout the Kingdome. They have maliciouſly charged us that we intend to deſtroy and diſcourage Learning, whereas it is our chiefeſt care and deſire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conſcionable and preaching Miniſters throughout the Kingdome, which will be a great encouragement to Schollers, and a certaine meanes whereby the want, meaneneſſe, and ignorance to which a great part of the Clergy is now ſubject, will be prevented. And we intend likewiſe to reform, and purge

the fountaines of learning the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be cleere and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have strayned to blast our proceedings in Parliament by wresting the interpretations of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people that our medling with the power of Episcopacy, hath caused sectaries and conventicles, when idolatry and popish ceremonies introduced into the Church by the command of the Bishops have not onely debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdome. Thus with *Eliah* we are called by this malignant party the troublers of the State, and still while we endevour to reforme their abuses, they make us the authours of those mischiefes we study to prevent: for the perfecting of the worke begun and removing all future impediments, we conceive these courses will be very effectuall, seeing the religion of the papists hath such principals as doe certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to doe us any hurt, and for avoyding of such connivence and favour as hath heretofore been shewed unto them, That his Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due meanes by execution of the Laws to prevent any mischievous designes, against the peace and safety of this Kingdome. That some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of papists to the Church by colour wherof persons very much disaffected to the true religion have been admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdome.

For the better preservation of the Lawes and liberties of the Kingdome, that all illegall grievances and exactions be presented and punished at the Sessions, and Assizes: and that Judges and Justices be carefull to give this in charge to the grand Jury, and both the Sheriffe and Justices to be sworn to the due execution of the petition of right and other Lawes: That his

Majesty

Majeſty be humbly petitioned by both Houſes to employ ſuch Counſellors, Ambaſſadors, and other Miniſters in mannaging his buſineſſe at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cauſe to confide in, without which we cannot give his Majeſty ſuch ſupplies for ſupport of his owne eſtate, nor ſuch aſſiſtance to the proteſtant party beyond the Sea, as is deſired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have juſt cauſe to take exceptions at ſome men for being Counſellors, and yet not charge thoſe men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lie not in proofe; there are others which though they may be proved yet are not legally criminall; to be a known favourer of papiſts, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing ſome great offenders queſtioned in Parliament, or to ſpeake contemptuouſly of either Houſes of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings, or ſuch as are factours or agents for any forraine Prince of another religion, ſuch are juſtly ſuſpect to get Counſellors places or any other of truſt concerning publique imployment for money: For all theſe and divers others we may have great reaſon to be earneſt with his Majeſty not to put his great affaires into ſuch hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed againſt them in any legall way of charge or impeachment: That all Counſellors of State may be ſworne to obſerve thoſe Lawes which concerne the Subject in his liberty, that they may likewiſe take an oath not to receive or give reward or penſion from any forraine Prince, but ſuch as they within ſome reaſonable time diſcover to the Lords of his Majeſties Councell: and although they ſhould wickedly forſweare themſelves, yet it may herein doe good to make them known to be falſe and perjured to thoſe who imploy them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That his Majeſty may have cauſe to be in love with good counſell and good men, by ſhewing him in an humble and dutifull manner, how full of advantage it would be to himſelfe, to ſee his owne eſtate ſetled in a plentifull condition to ſupport his honour, to ſee his people united in waies of duty to him and endeavours of the publique good; to ſee happineſſe, wealth, peace and ſafety derived to his owne Kingdome

dome, and procured to his Allies by the influence of his owne power and government. That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdomes of England and Scotland to be mutually ayding and assisting one another for the common good of the Island, and honour of both. To take away all differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their owne nature concerning religion; and to unite our selves against the common enemies, which are the better inabled by our divisions to destroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all offices of friendship to unite the forrain Churches with us in the same cause, and to seek their liberty, safety, and prosperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wisdome for our own good. For by this means our own strength shall be encreased, and by a mutuall concurrence to the same common end, we shall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant profession. If these things may be observed, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with such successe as shall be the beginning and foundation of more honour and happinesse to his Majesty, then ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royall Predecessors.

FINIS.